1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband.

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side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. /Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

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562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *//guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

322 415 [439] The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 [321] small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

222 311 In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

- Tschamma
- Spiny tschamma
- Ontjes of the Boers
- Water tubers
- So-called "wild potatoes"

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//nǽba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ǂhaiba, //am ǂhaiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION,

!!KUNG

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin [264] to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[42 cont.]
the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave immediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain François went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-||om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [563] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.

166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who [622] deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case [132 only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield 622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community 622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase [751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after 777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean. 462●

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards the mothers take practically no share in their education which, in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers. 857 855 871

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft. 868 857

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary considerably among the various tribes. 881 [184]

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oaxai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *axarogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, " you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily.

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

. 11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

●462 AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222 Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN 247

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, *Issa* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

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Reeds

Made and used by men
- arrowshafts

Used by women
- strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men
- quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

324
462
[302]

Made by men
- arrow-straighteners
- pipes

Used by men for
- sharpening blades
- hammers
- anvils
- weights to stretch nets
- marking graves

Used by women
- powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men
- arrow-points
- spear-blades
- spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all
- pipes
- awls

Used by men
- knives
- axes or adzes
- chisels (few)
- files (few)
- fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all
- beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
- pots—Bantu clay, European iron
- pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
- receptacles (few)
- old scraps of garments and blankets
- oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

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Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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462 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes: the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend the day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

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462 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the collecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

224 462 [222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the kaross, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant Elephantorhiza burkei. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong, [291]

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during [114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period 221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the 222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves 462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

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222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

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222 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
• 462 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
312 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484
312 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe. He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

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123 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
312 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of /oma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

Leisure and Work -- The getting of food is the most important 462 [512] single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] [574] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

462 222 574 462 [224] before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, /oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 [887] Non-productive Camp Members -- People who are under twenty years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to [582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry [574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-buschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */hais*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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221 312 423 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

[621] It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

462 512 From their huts the people go out every day in search of food. The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.

[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family, each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually

512 [574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[194] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point, thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.

[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–3; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.

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more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., Fishing.—Analyst]

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. [223] [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. [462] The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. [412] In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. [184] The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire.

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. [222] [622] "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. [184] The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. [171] The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply.

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.